The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

Editors:

PHILIP BURNHAM EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.

HARRY LORIN BINSSE, *Managing Editor*

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, *Special Editor*

JAMES F. FALLON, *Advertising Manager*

VOLUME XXX *June 23, 1939* NUMBER 9

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THE COMMONWEAL is indexed in the *Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index* and *Catholic Bookman.*

Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York. Annual Subscriptions: U. S. and Canada: $5.00; Foreign, $6.00.

Relief for Another Year

AS THESE LINES are written, the House of Representatives is beginning consideration of the current relief bill. It is the first time since 1935 that a relief bill has been brought up in the House by unanimous consent, and little opposition is expected, except to the cut in the NYA appropriation. In every other department of federal relief, the President's requests have substantially been complied with; NYA is to get $81,000,000 as against $75,000,000 this year, but $42,000,000 less than requested. The total relief budget set up by the bill is $823,205,000 less than this year's. One important change is the elimination of the "prevailing wage" method of computing WPA rates of pay and the substitution of a "security wage" basis, under which every WPA worker must put in 130 hours per month.

Putting Out the Communists

The most novel provisions of the bill are designed to make it difficult for communists to get control of WPA beneficiaries. It is required that every person employed shall take the oath of allegiance demanded of all government employees. One may perhaps be pardoned if one expresses some doubt concerning just how embarrassing it will be for communists to swear allegiance to the United States. The second provision requires that all workers who have been on WPA for eighteen months or more shall relinquish their standing on October 1 next, to remain off WPA for two months, after which they will be reemployed if recertified by their original certifying agencies. The bill lamentably abolishes the Federal Theatre Project. It further provides that hereafter WPA is to be administered by a three-man, bi-partizan board similar to that of the Social Security program, one of the members being an army engineer.

This last provision would seem to indicate that Congress is beginning to be aware that relief is not an emergency measure, but almost a permanent part of our economy—not a happy thought, but probably a true one. Meanwhile the National Economy League has been doing a bit of sniping; it would now apparently like to have all types of relief cost just the same amount, and that amount the minimum, regardless of the social consequences. But it is almost certain that the League will not have its way, and that the bill will pass substantially as introduced.

Good-bye to Their Majesties

THE VISIT of the King and Queen to Yankeeland was generally satisfactory to everyone. We except, of course, the Reich newspaper editors, who have displayed a tenderer concern over the sovereigns' presumable sufferings here than over any rememberable *contretemps* that has befallen the British monarchy. The rulers were mercilessly driven, to be sure; but the project itself predestined them to that; and we can feel sympathetic without expecting them to feel surprised. In the personal aspects of the visit, both countries acquitted themselves well: the British by having two such genuinely nice and likable people to send, the Americans by a cordiality that all the superadded curiosity and love of a show did not make other than real and spontaneous. It is fair to say also that the President and the First Lady did us proud by maintaining perfectly the democratic traditions of unperturbed humanness and friendly ease. Finally, if praises are being sounded, the New York Police must receive a separate citation. The original astounding plan (not devised in New York) of keeping all citizens along the royal route stiffly at attention and all windows closed, seemingly was left to lie where it fell—happily for the good-will this visit was designed to promote; using only courtesy, firmness and intelligent coordination, the police kept a throng (only under the Lindbergh welcom-

Very Pleasant Indeed

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ing committee in size and exuberance) perfectly orderly and perfectly happy. On the whole, then, the affair makes a very pleasant entry for the memory book. Doubtless the throbbing emotional significance which some commentators read into some of its items will evaporate harmlessly, leaving the emoters purged and calmed and the rest of us none the worse. Nor need the eagerness with which the popular warmth was computed by political thermometers in London disturb the judicious. The amenities, though sincere, were amenities only; and if they give pause to Herr Hitler, as is hoped in some quarters, that result, though agreeable, will be a *non-sequitur*.

Income Shifts

LATE IN MAY the Department of Commerce made available statistics on "State Income Payments, 1929-37," which *Business Week* proceeded to interpret in terms of maps, charts and text in one of its "Special Reports to Executives." During the period the general national income shrunk about 12 percent, but this shrinkage was far from equally divided. In fact two states—New Mexico and Nevada—show an absolute gain in per capita income, while six show a substantial gain in per capita share of national income: New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, Virginia and North Carolina. Missouri, Illinois and Pennsylvania showed a continuously dropping income throughout the period. Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, California, Nevada, Louisiana, Minnesota and perhaps Wyoming did better than the rest of the country, with relative incomes rising fairly steadily. Of course one can take the figures and ring endless changes on them without reaching any particularly valuable conclusions. In a general way the southwest has done pretty well; the agricultural states, fair to middling; the industrial states, worst of all. Here are the first five states, then and now, first two columns in terms of total income, second two in terms of per capita income.

Who Can Buy More?

1929	1937	1929	1937
New York	New York	D. C.	D. C.
Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	New York	Delaware
Illinois	California	Delaware	Nevada
California	Illinois	California	New York
Ohio	Ohio	Connecticut	California

Of course one always has to make reservations about statistics such as these; how is farm income calculated? Is there any allowance ever made for the real yet almost immeasurable income that comes from environmental advantage—i. e., in less need for expenditure? But one melancholy fact is here recorded, which statistical vagaries cannot explain. The District of Columbia's per capita income in 1937 (highest throughout the period) was $1,259. That of Mississippi (lowest throughout the period) was $207.

The Foreign Concessions in China

THE RELATIVE MILDNESS of the British in Europe during the past few years has its most convincing explanation of self-interest in concern for the Empire. Especially the Empire in the East. Besides restive India, the Empire there includes most importantly, China: Hong Kong, the economic position in the whole country and the British concessions in various of the cities. From the viewpoint of self-interest, English foreign policy in Europe would be very hard to understand if now she is going to permit the East to slip out of her hands without vigorous imperial protest, after having gone easy in the West for fear of her position in the East. Japan is attacking the British Chinese Empire ever more directly. An Englishman was recently killed by Japanese soldiers in Shanghai; Japan admits that two British army officers are imprisoned in Kalgan; Japan has now blockaded the English and French concessions in Tientsin. The logical progression in the Far East, even more than in Europe, is to a world war. It is ominous that another clash was reported between the Russians and Japanese at Changhufeng on June 4. If a show-down is forced in China, there will be much more impelling motives for the English and Russians to join in a general alliance than even Hitler can produce. Japan is not exactly helping her axis partner. It is notable too, that Governor McNutt, visiting Shanghai on his way home, again publicized the fact that the eventual status of the Philippines and America in the Philippines is by no means settled. Imperialism seems to breed imperialism. It would be interesting to see if the abandonment of imperialism by one country would also prove catching. One can at least say that the negative has never been proved.

Back Door To Trouble

Senate Votes Wagner Amendment

THE SECOND $800,000,000 appropriation for housing will, when the wishes of the Senate are in due course accepted by the House, be divided between city and country. It is not that urban slums have been eliminated by any means, but the Wagner amendment simply recognizes the existence of rural slums and starts to attack that problem. Completed low-cost housing projects in various American cities to date do not reach enough people to serve as much more than a model or a proving ground for more extensive construction activities. We need similar prototypes in our agricultural areas, although clearance and congestion there are not as acute a problem. Another hopeful factor in the Senate vote is the lack of attention paid to Senator Taft's proposal to halve the appropriation. Housing conditions

New Rural Housing

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throughout the nation still call for full steam ahead.

Successful Cooperative Scheme in Dublin

A New Type of Club

THIS MONTH the English *Catholic Worker* features the accomplishments of the Mount-Street Club of Dublin, Ireland. There is nothing comparable to WPA in the British Isles, while peddling and like efforts of the unemployed are discouraged through refusing such energetic unemployed individuals relief status. But conditions are alike in that vast numbers in both countries are ill-clad, poorly-fed and ill-housed without having the means of remedying these deplorable deficiencies. The Mount-Street Club began by furnishing training and employment in tailoring, shoe-making and repairing, weaving and furniture making; each hour of productive labor earned a "tally" and the clothes and services available at the club shop sold for tallies. The same is true of the 400 meals served daily to club members with bread from the club bakery and vegetables from the club garden plot. By this means donations of 2,000 pounds sterling were utilized to produce ten times that value in goods and services for human beings. With the assistance of the Minister of Agriculture and private donations the club has acquired near the city a 140-acre farm which boards 21 members and employs 20 more commuters under the direction of a farm manager. Milk, eggs, fruit and pork products are now added to the goods the men produce for themselves and for each other. One secret of this hopeful attack on the ravages of idleness for able-bodied men is a simple club rule that naturally could not be applied universally: "Nothing for nothing."

The Tendency of Catholic Sociology

The Inner Question of "Guilds"

NEWSPAPER REPORTS of the first two days' sessions of the Catholic Social Action Conference in Cleveland indicate that speakers, seeking means to overcome the mess of *laissez faire,* individualistic capitalism, are examining with increasing seriousness two developments. These two are "organization under the direction of national public authority," and the system of vocational groups or orders, guilds or corporations. National state action is a clear enough concept to Americans, as is also the possibility of "statism," state capitalism and a paralyzing governmental tyranny. In speaking about functional groups, which have been given a bad name by the "corporatism" of fascist countries, Professor Grose was obliged to declare the fact (which is self-evident under analysis) that a corporative order as such is "not totalitarian, not fascist nor communist." It is an administrative form which can be given sharply contrasting content. The fascist countries claim it, it is true, but the "great wheel of labor" of the I.W.W. had a similar administrative concept. Syndicalists in general think in terms of functional groups, and no one accuses them of being fascists.

How will the vocational groups themselves be internally governed? How would their representatives to the occupational senate suggested in Cleveland be selected? These seem to be the most important questions arising from a first study of the directives toward occupational groups long ago given in the encyclicals, and they have not been answered with clarity and any unanimity by our sociologists. The simple formula that the owners within the group shall have one vote, the workers one vote, and the mediating government one vote does not seem promising. That much and no more gives the impression of being simply a particularly stringent method of compulsory arbitration, changing no underlying forces, and giving a wide-open road (especially in conjunction with increased governmental activity) to state absolutism. Voting in the occupational groups by class (shades of the first Estates General of the French Revolution!) also would give the owners an overloaded representation which would be undemocratic, unjust and also (more shades of the Revolution!) almost certainly unstable.

Railroad Extension Service, Inc.

Your Ticket and $20

AMERICAN RAILROADS of late have not been entirely idle or unenterprising. To meet the competition of the 200,000 trucks now said to be engaged in inter-city transportation they have not only actively agitated for legislative assistance but have worked out a combined freight-truck service that delivers to your door. The New York, New Haven and Hartford has been trying out a combined train and hired auto service which has not yet surmounted special geographical limitations. But eight of the West's leading railroads have already signed up for a similar scheme which is to be put into operation on a far larger scale beginning the first of the year. For a deposit of $20 or merely a satisfactory identification card a traveling salesman or a mere tourist on arriving in state at any city of 10,000 inhabitants can hire a car for the length of his stay in a certain district. Rental rates are moderate and include insurance; gas and oil are furnished at the lowest rates. Then, with a pocketful of orders or new reserves of health, he would return by rail to his distant home-office or fireside. If it works, the auto dealers will have sold more cars, the railroads notched off more passenger miles and traveling men and tourists will have greater range and convenience at their disposal. Not to mention the fact that the family car would be left behind for use back home.

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Everybody's Question

JOHN GUNTHER in the current *Life* reports a recent saying in London to the effect that the Jewish question has become non-Jewish. It is everybody's question. "Jew-laden ships roam the seven seas, with ports of entry blocked, with a human tariff wall shutting them out." Marquis Childs in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reports that despite the sponsorship of Cardinal Mundelein, Marshall Field, President Hutchins, William Allen White, Helen Taft Manning and many others, the Wagner-Rogers bill to allow the immigration of 20,000 German children may never even get to committee. North Carolina's ineffable "Vindicator," Senator Bob Reynolds, threatens a filibuster against the bill if it is introduced. In all this trouble and all this pain the Jews are the most vivid group. Yet Paul Kellogg puts his finger on the real problem in the June *Survey Midmonthly:* "The weakest point on the whole front are the Christian sectors which have not been sufficiently aroused to their stakes in the personnel of persecution."

Not Only Jews Wander

The New Neutrality Plan

APOLOGISTS for the administration's foreign policy make much of the fact that by vesting discretion with the President for the designation of combat areas and the abrogation of credit restrictions the proposed legislation will be flexible enough to meet any contingency. Only strong isolationists appear disturbed at the prospect. Grave doubts as to the actual flexibility of the program, however, arise from certain facts. Foremost of these are the known international sympathies of the President and the State Department. Support of France and Britain is a foregone conclusion for them. Hence the new presidential powers would in actuality set up various devices for committing the United States to the France-British bloc in the case of armed conflict abroad during the next 18 months. The personnel might change in 1940, but in the meantime the nation would be faced with the danger of being drawn inevitably into another fruitless European tragedy. The fact that France and Britain have quietly been building up vast credit reserves over here for purchases of American supplies makes the proposed extension of presidential power even more ominous. How can such a course of action be called flexible?

Is It Really Flexible?

The present course would so overweight the France-British forces in the balance of power as to make those two "democracies" adamant in their neglect of the economic and political concessions that we must all make if there is to be any lasting peace. Absolute isolationism, on the other hand, is no solution either. Refusal of the United States to play a part in preventing another war might well encourage a desperate Fascist move. Hitlerism must be stopped. But power politics alone will not stop it in the long run.

Labor Between Two Walls

THE WEEK'S NEWS dramatized two barriers holding back labor, and thereby, of course, the whole country, from social progress. The AFL and the CIO continued to take falls out of each other. Rather solemnly, Mr. Lewis told the public that unity is hardly to be hoped for while the AFL is dominated by the terrible people at its head. Rather bitterly Mr. Green replied in the same kind. The strikes and attempted strikes in the automobile industry, where the bisected U.A.W. is trying to settle into position, show that the division goes down further than the Washington offices. The unions in themselves are showing that they do not manage labor affairs with the logic and justice and principle which inspire great confidence in progress. The New York Fair offers a particularly raw picture. There, where the employers have been so completely exposed to the public eye and so dependent on political popularity that labor had an unusual chance to get its own way, what developed was apparently a field day for jurisdictional quarrels, exorbitant charges, and, no doubt, racketeering. The foreign nations claim they have been overcharged through union activities by at least $10,000,000 and there has been no convincing denial.

There Is No Peace

The second barrier was dramatically spotlighted by John L. Lewis's series of condemnations and warnings. President Green pointed out: "In the last two days he has denounced Congress, business, the administration, the Labor Department and everything else he could think of." The trouble is Mr. Lewis's justification. "When in nations in crises no leadership appears which can resolve the crisis, the people become disheartened. They turn to the dangerous and irresponsible. . . ." Mr. Lewis was not distorting the facts. The people will "not much longer have patience with the timid solutions offered by government, solutions fearfully withdrawn before they can be really tested." Unemployment presents the great danger to the country, and the growing cleavage between the unemployed and the unions of employed workers will test the nation still more than it has been tested during the past ten years. The labor unions will suffer first, and most, if the cleavage becomes a gulf. Really important and radical progressive action or "a wave of despair and black reaction" are the alternatives. In "Congress, business, the administration, the Labor Department" and as indicated above, in labor ranks, there are too few signs of the program, the leadership and the courage.

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The Chambers Are at It Again

What about government spending? Can it be stopped once it has started? A few suggestions about lower taxes.

By **E. L. Munzer**

AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING on May 4, 1939, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States adopted a series of resolutions dealing with the economic, financial and social problems of the United States which contain a great variety of proposals for the future economic policy of the country. Similar proposals have been emanating from many local chambers.

The remedy for continued depression and unemployment consists, the Chamber tells us, in the reestablishment of a free economy and the retirement of the public authorities from the arena of competitive economy. The free flow of capital is to be stimulated, barriers to the free marketing of farm and industrial products have to be removed, and the legislation on taxes, labor relations, social security and social relief amended.

The increasing economic activity of the state has in fact raised many questions which are far from being satisfactorily answered. But the simple retirement of the state from economic life would, under present conditions, end in social chaos and most certainly not in a free economy, as the Chamber of Commerce understands it.

The main problem of public economic activity is taxation. It is not the absolute weight of the tax burden which limits free enterprise and "shakes confidence," but the enlargement of taxation during depression. Yet this increased taxation in periods when business is over-sensitive to additional overhead expenses can scarcely be avoided if public deficits are not to swell still more. The only way out of this impasse is a deferred tax reduction which leaves state revenues during the depression period intact but assures a drastic curtailment of public levies in the future and guarantees this reduction by the issue of government securities of special kinds. This future reduction of taxes can be made dependent on certain conditions, and such conditions can themselves be made into a very effective stimulus to increase employment.

To stimulate private enterprise without curbing the present flow of tax receipts, the Government could issue tax remission certificates: (1) to entrepreneurs who employ more workers for a certain minimal time, for example three consecutive months, than they employed during the past basic time, for example from April to June, 1938; certificates worth, say, $50 to be given to the employer for every worker thus additionally employed for each completed period of three consecutive months; (2) to all persons who promptly pay their Federal Income Tax, certificates of 15 or 20 percent of the amounts actually paid for the revenue years 1939 and 1940 could be issued.

The tax redemption certificates would be accepted by every state agency for payments to the state (taxes, fees, etc.) from, for example, 1943 to 1946, to the amount of a quarter of the total sum each year. Otherwise they are to be treated like any other state security.

The flotation of such certificates would be equivalent to a deferred tax reduction, which can be made immediately effective in each individual case by the sale of certificates on the exchange.

The capital goods industries are the great sufferers in any depression. That is so because depression works cumulatively through all the stages of production from the lowest (finished consumable goods) to the highest (for example, raw material extraction). The resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce nowhere consider adequately the special position of the capital goods industries. What is really needed is a special stimulus to the production of instrumental goods. And that can be brought about rather easily, by a temporary revision of existing tax legislation: the permitting of the immediate depreciation, as current expenses, of newly installed capital goods (machines, factory buildings, tools) and the carrying of operating losses eventually arising out of this depreciation over to succeeding years.

This permission could be restricted to the next three or four years. Its stimulating effect on the industries producing instrumental and durable goods of all kinds would be enormous, particularly in a time of high taxation. Idle balances would be used for the purchase of capital equipment, and the basis of credit would be greatly expanded. This scheme also offers perhaps the only way out for the present unhappy situation of the railroads.

Stimulating the free flow of capital

We are told by the Chamber of Commerce that "Congress should immediately take action to stimulate the free flow of capital into investments in both established and new enterprises."

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It is certainly known to the Chamber of Commerce that the flow of capital is a function of the rate of interest, the marginal efficiency of capital and the prospective yield of each individual investment. And it is equally clear that the yield of capital partly depends on taxation.

If that is so, the simultaneously proposed balancing of the budget, by curtailing the credit-requirements of the public authorities, would worsen, and not improve, the situation of the capital market. For when similar measures are resorted to, the national income is decreased, cash is absorbed instead of being released and profits are, in consequence of the contraction of general demand, diminished. Since investment mostly depends on adequate profits, the contraction of the economic activity of the state during a depression is likely to cause a complete deadlock of the capital market. Thus if the Chamber of Commerce advocates the stimulation of the capital market, it cannot at the same time plead for a contraction of the economic activity of the state. On the contrary, in a time of depression people cannot find remunerative outlets for their surplus funds and they accumulate idle balances. If the government comes forward with an attractive loan or places short- and medium-term bonds on the capital market, it raises money, not by displacing other possible capital issues, but by securing money that would otherwise have remained in idle balances. It is the borrowing, and not the government expenditures as such, which gives employment.

And the statement of the Chamber of Commerce that "too heavy a mortgage has already been placed upon future generation of the American people" has no economic basis. The public indebtedness of the United States is, as regards its relation to the number of inhabitants, national income and potential resources, about one-third of the British public debt, one-half of the French public debt, and far below the level of every comparable country. In so far as tangible assets have been created by public credit, the state has done the same as every entrepreneur does daily, and inasmuch as redistributed incomes have been created—through social allowances, salaries, wages—consumption has been stimulated. Of course, if productive capital outlay had been made instead, the national income would be enlarged in future periods by the corresponding returns, profits, dividends, etc. But this aim could not have been attained, for if the public administration had not spent the money to effect the redistribution of incomes, the general state of economy would have been still worse—such as it was in 1929 to 1933 without the generating force of public credit.

U. S. social legislation in its infancy

The social legislation of the United States is still in the making and has to pass through the natural diseases of every childhood. These diseases are more dangerous because American legislation was started during a severe depression; German and other legislatures could benefit by experience when their economies got into trouble. But there is no way back from a program of social legislation once it is inaugurated.

The Chamber of Commerce specifically complains about the high cost of the social security and the large expenditures of the WPA.

Here again the Chamber seems to be ignorant of economic facts. The money expended in old-age and unemployment insurance and for relief does not vanish in an economic vacuum. It constitutes involuntary savings which accrue to the investible funds of the community, and it can contribute to a glut of capital and to a depression when, and only when, the capital market is unable to open appropriate outlets.

It is natural that large reserves for old-age and unemployment insurance should not be accumulated during periods of receding business. The proper times to build up such reserves are time of high economic activity. But this goal can easily be reached if contributions are based on varying percentages, adjusted to economic activity.

Relief expenditures are high and may lack productivity in many cases. But it is not true that the WPA "diverts from private enterprise those functions for which it is best equipped." In as far as the WPA covers capital outlay of the unremunerative type—for example, bridges, roads, canals, parks, public buildings—private enterprise is neither diverted from its inherent functions nor is the yield of private capital diminished. Of course as soon as the public economy enters the competitive field, existing private capital assets are correspondingly depreciated; but every *private* addition to existing capital equipment would have the same effect.

Insofar as public authorities are entering into competitive business, the corresponding public indebtedness merely replaces private debts and does not differ from the ordinary credit-taking at all. The complaints of the Chamber of Commerce over the growing government debt cannot strain the economic system. If government debts grow and private indebtedness decreases, as happens in every depression when public economy tries to bridge the gap, nothing has changed but the name of the debtors. In fact the total credit-volume of the United States is, unfortunately, sinking, and so long as it continues to do so, the depression will also continue. But to remedy this shrinking process by a further deliberate curtailment of one branch of the credit volume, that of public debtors, would mean the perpetuation of the crisis and the complete collapse of all that is left of free economy and of all that is held sacred by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

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Retreats and A World's Fair

In early July the Third Annual Congress of the Laywomen's Retreat Movement takes place in New York.

By **Mary Perkins**

THE SITUATION in which the Temple of Religion is placed in the New York World's Fair makes you wonder what, if anything, the designers had in mind. To the rear, on one side is the WPA theatre, flanked by the Christian Science temple; on the other, beyond the Y.M.C.A., is the House of Jewels. In front, to the left are gas industries and home furnishings, and to the right are the Palestine and Beech-Nut buildings, with food beyond. Directly behind are science, education, medicine and public health, and the Temple looks out at contemporary art and the Electric Farm. Is the surrealistic, dream-like appropriateness of this arrangement the result of chance, or does it indicate a vague hope that in the world of tomorrow, religion will be in the center of man's varied activities, from the theatre to agriculture? Whatever the designers of the fair had in mind, the very existence of such a temple shows a need and a prophecy, which is all that a fair can do. It is up to those who use the Temple to fill the one and fulfill the other, and one, at least, of the events to take place in it is planned exactly for this purpose.

The third annual congress of the Laywomen's Retreat Movement is holding an evening session here, at eight o'clock on the evening of July 2. If you are anywhere in the vicinity, admiring frescos or automobiles bathed in the latest flood-lighting, you can attend this session to discuss the idea most complementary and antithetical to that of a world's fair—the idea of retreats. There could be no more appropriate place to discuss this particular means of restoring all things in Christ than this focus of modern equipment and modern problems. You wish that all who are overcome by the magnificence of the one and the urgency of the other could be forced to attend this meeting. The question is so clear, and the answer so obvious, that even the saddest humorist might well take heart.

Those who are disturbed about the world of tomorrow, whether in Flushing or in the future, see two great needs: to "get away from it all" and to find something else, and the retreat movement intends to make it possible for everyone to do both these things at the same time. Of course it is not news to the world in general that a few days alone are a very good thing, and it is not a new idea in the Church that time spent alone with God in spiritual exercise is a most powerful spiritual force. What is new, in practice at least, is the attempt to make this good, this force available to everyone, combining the natural desire for peace and quiet with a supernatural increase of life. Until recently it was accepted that only the spiritually élite, priests and nuns and "pious women" and a few odd laymen, could or should take two or three days away from ordinary occupations for spiritual recreation. For "ordinary" Catholics, a mission was sufficient: anything more was impractical and unnecessary. But the idea of Catholic action means that there is no such line between "pious" and "ordinary" Catholics. Every member of the Mystical Body of Christ is to be a consciously living and working member. So the means which through the ages have been found most effective in the development of heroic souls must be made as far as possible available to everyone. And the first and most obvious of these is the "closed" retreat, that is "two or more days and nights of unbroken residence at a house of retreats during the progress of the spiritual exercises."

If you looked at modern needs with an entirely new eye, no better solution could be found. The need to "get away" is provided for by the peace and quiet of the retreat house: the need to find something else is satisfied by the skilled presentation of the truths of the Faith. Various orders and congregations, either founded for the purpose, or including it in their works, are providing the physical equipment as rapidly as possible. The late Pope's Encyclical "Mens Nostra" has given official blessing and encouragement. Countless priests are giving their time and energy to adapting the various forms of spiritual exercise to the needs of each particular group. All that is needed is to make a retreat available and attractive to everyone, and this is what the retreat movement is trying to do.

The beginning of the movement

In this country the men had a national organization to promote the work of retreats many years before the women. The Laymen's Retreat Movement was about to hold its sixth national congress in Chicago in 1936 when it was suggested that a

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similar conference should be held by women at the same time, under the auspices of the Chicago Cenacle. In a month the various permanent and seasonal retreat houses in the United States and Canada were contacted, and some eight hundred women came to this first conference. A second, even more successful, was held in Boston in 1937, and the third congress is to meet in New York this summer, from July 1 to 3, under the auspices of the New York Cenacle. The sessions are to be held at the Hotel Commodore, with the exception of the evening of July 2 at the World's Fair. Many distinguished clerical and lay speakers will address the sessions to open the discussions, for the purpose of the congress is not any kind of mutual back-slapping, but the exchange of information and experience.

The three main topics for discussion in the last conference were the retreat, the retreatant, and recruiting. Under the first heading came the ingoing aspect of retreats, their use in self-sanctification; in the second and third, the apostolic aspect, the retreatant's influence, special group retreats, ways and means of reaching different kinds and classes of people. The same general subjects will be discussed in this third congress, with the added practical experience of two active years.

In these days of so much "organization," it is wonderful to find such a large group of women who avail themselves of its uses and not its abuses. All the methods are discussed which could be utilized to sell life-insurance or a new breakfast food, but there is no overshadowing of Catholic action by mere activity. All the organizers, the captains who are to recruit retreatants, are urged to be extremely active, but to remember to pray first and last. The national organization itself only exists in so far as it is necessary as a center, and each retreat house, permanent or seasonal, sends delegates for the purpose of pooling information. The movement remains one of individuals, working in their own ways, in their own districts, who are anxious to find out how to work more effectively.

Individual Sanctification

The social aspect of Catholic action, that is the sanctification of the group and the community as such, is included in the very means which has been found most effective in spreading individual knowledge of, and desire for, retreats. Comparatively few people have any idea that a retreat could be available for them. The idea has to be sold primarily by personal contact, for it is the kind of thing that can spread only by contagious enthusiasm. The people that you can reach most easily and effectively are those who live where you live, or who work where you work. One girl, a factory worker, having made one retreat, in a year brings a hundred of her companions to make a retreat together; one literary agent brings many assorted "intellectual" friends. In this way the community or the group, is sanctified together, without any loss to each individual soul. And this kind of specialized retreat, in which all the members share the same interests and type of work, is more effective from the point of view of the spiritual exercises given. The priest can apply the great truths of faith to the particular circumstances of the retreatants with much more success than if he is talking to a heterogeneous group of "single ladies." The missionary idea of "like to like" is therefore one of the main principles of the retreat movement, and the discussion centers on how to reach at least one of each group or class or color or occupation.

The depressing feature of many organized "good works" is that they seem to confuse what man can do with what only God can accomplish in the work of restoring all things in Christ. We are all convinced that what the world needs most is a spiritual renewal, which must be brought about by prayer and action together, beginning in our individual selves. But we often sound as if we could force other people to become Christ-like, if we only wrote enough articles or gave enough money or "did" something. The retreat movement admirably avoids such confusion, by its very nature. It intends to settle the practical problems of time and space and finances, to spread the good news of retreats, to follow up the actual retreat with other opportunities for spiritual refreshment throughout the year, to bring every retreatant back again with as many of her friends as possible. Everything else, all the actual "good" to be done, is left where it properly belongs, in the hands of God.

We all may be more or less tired of either selling or being sold anything at all—toothpaste or insurance or Ways to Success or even spiritual improvement. But nobody could possibly object to the entirely different notion of giving himself a chance to find out what he really does want and what God wants of him. A shadow of the retreat idea is one of the main forces in Buchmanism, and its success shows how many people are desperately anxious for what a retreat could actually give them.

The most extraordinary success and spread of the retreat movement, as seen in the national laymen's and laywomen's congresses, shows the same thing. If this third congress brings the same results as its predecessors in increase of zeal and effectiveness—and by all indications it will accomplish even more—there is a real hope that the arrangement of the World's Fair will become a reality in society, that religion will actually be the focus of all our activities, from science, education, public health and jewels to electric farms and contemporary art.

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Russia and the "Crisis"

There are various aspects of the "Russian Alliance": military, political, moral. Here is an analysis of all three.

By Albert Lynd

A CRISIS which goes on unendingly ceases, by definition, to be a crisis. But whatever one calls the present European situation (a French newspaper calls it *la guerre des nerfs*), it is an equation with one entirely unknown quantity, the position of the Soviet Union. There are in fact two unknowns, the political possibilities of a Soviet-Western alliance, and (for the Western Christian) the moral aspect of such an alliance. But for the diplomatic "realists" of England and France, the question is neither political nor moral, but military.

The military aspect

The Soviet war machine may be as marvelous as its most fervent admirers claim, or it may be a third-rate establishment, weakened by defective equipment and debilitated by purges in the high command. But whatever it is, the English and French generals need it, and need it badly, if they are seriously to contemplate a war against Germany and Italy. It is an elementary point of European strategy that the issue of a war with a re-armed Germany alone would be doubtful, unless it could be maintained on two fronts. Russia could prevent Germany from throwing her full force against the West, even if Russia lost a number of local battles.

The question is simple, then, in the strictly amoral view of the military leaders. Twenty years ago it took the great powers four hard years to defeat Germany, with Russian help during a part and American help during the rest of the time. It may be even harder today, when Germany has not only all the effective resources of her old ally, Austria, but a stronger ally as well in Italy, and when General Franco, if he is in a mood or under a compulsion to return the favors of his friends, may require France to defend a third frontier. Those who confidently predict that Germany "cannot last" in a war because of economic weakness may be right—eventually. Germany was under similar handicaps during the last war. She lost, but it took so much time, blood and resources that everybody else lost, too.

Anglo-French treaties with Rumania and Poland have great diplomatic value, but much less military value. Germany could occupy Rumania with a corporal's guard. Poland would give her more of a fight, but the most confident estimate of Polish strength would not put it at anything like a match for even one-half of Germany's power. Poland is a notoriously poor country, which has built an impressive façade of military power by incredible economic sacrifices.

But Poland and Rumania backed up by the vast human and material resources of the Soviet Union would constitute a huge unit along Germany's eastern frontier which would be incapable of lightning defeat. It might lose battles, but it might also invade and defeat Germany, unless Germany maintained permanently in the East military effectives so large as to weaken her in the West.

The political aspect

Politically, the question is much more complicated. What kind of arrangement can the Western powers make with the Soviet Union?

The several weeks which have elapsed since the "resignation" of Maxim Litvinoff have not yet (at this writing) brought anything like a convincing explanation of it. In the guessing contest of the press, many suggested reasons could be compressed into two, which are mutually exclusive. One is that Stalin was dissatisfied with the slow-footedness of his Commissar in taking advantage of the superb diplomatic opportunity offered by the Anglo-French application for help against a common enemy. The other is that the enemy may not be common to all concerned; that Stalin may actually have in mind a Soviet-German *rapprochement,* and that Litvinoff, the old war horse of Geneva and collective security, and a Jew as well, had to be thrown overboard before conversations with Hitler could be opened.

Both guesses seem invalidated by the passage of events—or rather by their non-passage—since Litvinoff's removal. The Anglo-Russian negotiations go on as haltingly and indecisively as they were begun with Litvinoff. Russia has not yet made impressive diplomatic capital out of them. On the other hand, their continuance seems to rule out the fantastic but not incredible theory of a Stalin-Hitler agreement.*

* The Krivitzky articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* are highly interesting on this point, and may be true, but without corroborative evidence they have little historical value.

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It may be that the explanations, both for Litvinoff's removal and for the continued dalliance in the Anglo-Russian negotiations, are the simplest ones. The first may be more a domestic than a diplomatic matter, involving a continuance of the purge of old Bolsheviks. Litvinoff may have been among the last Russians in high place to retain any illusions about the Marxist ideal in the Soviet Union. Grotesque as that ideal is, the Stalinist dictatorship is an even more grotesque caricature of it. The second may be a mere matter of Russian vanity. A French editor remarked that the scarlet woman who was kept waiting so long on the doorstep of the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay may be getting a little understandable pleasure in just lingering there provocatively, now that she is being frantically invited inside.

But for the Anglo-French cause, the explanation may be more serious. One may rule out as incredible the notion of a coming Stalin-Hitler understanding, and still find it surprisingly difficult to answer the question, what has the Soviet Union to gain from a western military alliance?

She had, of course, an unrivalled opportunity for a *jehad* against the self-declared ideological arch-enemy of Marxism. But to what extent does the Soviet Union remain the Caliphate of world communism, since the departure of Trotsky and the gradual liquidation of the old guard?

The Soviet Union is a national state, run by a personal dictatorship, whose boss may or may not regard it as a phase in the Marxian dialectic. Given normal human motivation and the evidence of all history, the preservation of his dictatorship is item number one in the value scale of any dictator, and of those who participate in his enjoyment of power and whatever other enjoyable things there are that make dictators want to go on dictating. If Stalin is, as he appears to be, merely a political freebooter using the Marxist myth to preserve an arrangement which he finds so satisfactory that he shoots old friends who make him nervous about his job, then he is not likely to risk the arrangement in a war, quite aside from the possibility of an intended understanding with Hitler.

But suppose that Stalin is, to some extent, sincerely devoted to the cause of world communism. That cause would seem to call for a war to the death against Naziism, when the golden opportunity of a Western alliance is offered. Even if the military issue were uncertain, the chaos and despair of war would make the best possible forcing bed for communism. But why should Stalin *participate* in the war? Whether his chief interest is in himself, or in his national state, or in his creed, there would be excellent reasons for not doing so. He might easily reverse the attitude of the English and French conservatives, who handled Hitler so tenderly before and even after Munich, in the belief that the Nazis, while obnoxious in themselves, might be profitably nurtured in the hope that they would take their own anti-Marxist fulminations seriously, and that both groups would eventually exterminate each other in an ideological war, leaving the capitalistic world free to pick up the happy bourgeois days of old. With startling ease Stalin can turn that formula inside out.

But even supposing Russian willingness to enter the crusade, formidable political difficulties remain. Poland and Rumania, whose territories lie between Russia and Germany, and in whose interests the proposed treaties are ostensibly being made, will have great difficulty in changing their thinking habits of twenty years about the Soviet Union. They are so far from sure that they want to have the Red Army about, even as an ally, and so unwilling to fraternize directly with the Soviet, that the treaties under negotiation will not result (if they result in anything at all) in a multilateral collective security pact in the old Litvinoff-Geneva pattern, but in bilateral sets, with England as diplomatic broker between all concerned. The Soviet diplomats are acutely aware of the national psychologies of Poland and Rumania, and are insisting on naming Germany as the object of the military alliances, understandably fearing an eventual twisting of the arrangement to turn it against Russia herself. The whole program seems doomed to ineffectuality through the sheer weight of compromise and reservation; in any case it will not convey anything like the diplomatic *éclat* of the terse German-Italian understanding.

The moral aspect

There remains the moral aspect of an anti-Fascist crusade in which Russia would be enlisted, and here the writer's lay competence ends with a statement of the problem.

When news of the death of Cardinal Richelieu reached Rome, the Pope was said to have remarked that for the first time in his life he was tempted to disbelieve in God, for the sake of the Cardinal's soul. The great prelate had smashed the power of Catholic Austria forever, and had guaranteed the permanent future of central European Protestantism, by allying himself with the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War. The mind of the seventeenth-century Catholic responded to the word protestantism with the same loathing as the mind of the modern Catholic to the word communism. Nevertheless the military and political security, if not the national existence, of the Catholic Kingdom of France depended upon curbing the power of the equally Catholic Hapsburg.

Three centuries later a good deal of wrestling with Catholic doctrines of war, international order, sovereignty and national self-defense will not yield a clear-cut answer to the question of the Car-

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dinal's political morality. The writer believes with the majority (which does not, however, include many patriotic French Catholics!) that the great Cardinal's end was a good one, which he spoiled by his choice of means. But the complexities of a problem as old as this suggest that the present problem of the morality of a Soviet military alliance is one not capable of epigrammatic solution.

A writer in an important Catholic weekly has stated that "every American Christian must be a conscientious objector in a world war where the United States is an ally of atheistic Russia." It seems to the writer that the case for conscientious objection in an American or any other Christian in any modern war is a fairly good one before the question of Russia is added to it. (And the statement seems a little inconsistent in anyone who had no conscientious objection to a war in which General Franco was aided by atheistic Germany, to an extent which the Führer felt able to boast about in the speech of April 28. Unless the crude tribal gods of the Hitler-Goebbels-Rosenberg *Weltanschauung* constitute theism, official Germany is as atheistic as Russia, with the practical difference that the martyrdom of German religion is one of slow attrition, rather than overnight extermination.)

But the question for the European Catholic, and even for the American Catholic, in the unlikely but conceivable possibility of a defensive war, is not so simple. The war may be forced upon him, and the Catholic conscience will not be consulted in the choice of weapons by the general staff. The Red Army is regarded as an indispensable military *auxilium* by the English-French strategists, and the Catholic conscience may be forced to a decision about weapons, of which bombing planes will be one, hate-propaganda another and the Red Army still another, in a war which may be otherwise justifiable. Father Gerald Vann, O.P., in a most illuminating article in the April number of the *Dublin Review,* says in part, "Whatever we may think of the possibility of a just offensive war today, it is not for us in this country (i.e., England) the real problem, for it is not in an offensive war that we are likely to be engaged. Let us accept then, at least as working hypotheses, the conclusions of the Fribourg Congress, that a defensive war may be justified in the face of unprovoked aggression, and that we may add that participation in the defense by the allies of the invaded country is equally permissible."

By "allies," Father Vann does not of course refer to Russia, but to England's continental allies who may be the object of German aggression. He does not mention Russia in the article, for he is concerned with the question of how an unavoidable defensive war may be waged in a moral fashion, when the killing of civilians is a deliberate and technically necessary part of the military program of any country which maintains a single bombing plane. Deliberate civilian slaughter is directly interdicted by Catholic theory in any war; Father Vann discusses the acute problem for the individual conscience of a war justified in its inception, but in which the "*quibus auxiliis* are ill advised."

But, although Father Vann does not mention it, the analogy between the use of an immoral weapon and the use of an immoral ally immediately occurs. The problem of the Catholic is acute, in considering the use of an *auxilium* which may lead to the political aggrandizement of a régime avowedly anti-Christian. The safest solution of a moral problem, at least for a layman lacking sufficiently specific competent indications, is that of taking no chances. Based on a general skepticism concerning the justifiability of any modern war, and on Father Vann's clear conclusions about the use of bombing planes, the writer's inclination would be heavily toward conscientious objection in the matter of a Soviet alliance. But it is an inclination largely determined by the first factor. If a war can be justified, ingenuity is seldom lacking for a justification of weapons or allies. It has not been lacking, among Catholics, in a long series of wars, from Wallenstein's to Franco's.

Thus, in the Spanish war, the complete "holy war" school found little difficulty in excusing civilian slaughter on the ground of military necessity, despite available evidence that the notorious Douhet theory of aerial strategy was being deliberately tested, and excusing likewise the help rendered to the champion of the Church by an ally who was a persecutor of the Church in his own bailiwick.

Rationalization is not necessarily a term of reproach; it is a maligned word for one kind of use of the reason. But it is difficult to see why one situation should be entitled to the indulgence of rationalization, and the other only to aphoristic condemnation. The writer very much doubts the possibility of justifying any modern war, but for every Catholic the theoretical possibility of justification exists. If it will be found to exist for the countries of Western Europe, what should be the attitude of the Catholics in those countries toward a Soviet alliance? The problem is not, for them, the academic one that it is for American Catholics. They will be faced with something like the improbability of prosecuting such a war without Soviet aid. More than that, it has been shown that the obtaining of this aid may be itself a difficult political manoeuver. Should patriotic Catholic diplomats and editors work for such an alliance, or accept it only passively if it comes, or completely renounce a war in which it is used?

There is no answer yet available from a moral authority which has reckoned with all the factors involved.

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Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

HAVING spoken first, in resuming this department, after a break of five weeks, concerning the crisis that in my opinion faces our daily press—in fact, our press in general, but the daily papers particularly—a crisis of which the central problem is the grave danger of the breakdown of public confidence in the trustworthiness of the news collected and distributed by our daily press, it seems to me to be appropriate to give publicity to what I regard as an historic document, in at least a minor degree, which is unknown or only very partially known to the American reading public. As I had some part in the preparation, as well as being one of the signatories, of the document in question, I feel a special responsibility in regard to making it fully known.

When I acted as press representative for the group of foreign, English-speaking Catholics who were in Madrid at the time of the Franco Victory celebrations, and handed copies of the letter signed by them to the English and American correspondents, I was made conscious of the fact that, in all probability, this demonstration of the sentiments held not only by the signers of the letter, but by the great majority of Catholics of the English-speaking nations, did not impress the greater number of the news gatherers in Madrid as being of much significance or importance. I do not share that opinion. That those who held, and still hold, the cause of the defeated government of Spain, to have been righteous, and desirable, and regret its utter defeat, among whom must be placed the great majority of the correspondents for English and American papers and press associations, have personally a full right to maintain their views, is of course quite natural and understandable. But as correspondents I think their duty should lead them to give fuller attention than most in fact do give to the ample evidence of the support given to Franco by those who believe his revolt justifiable and his victory to be a good thing.

Acting upon these motives, I give my readers the document in question:

Madrid, April 18, 1939.

To Isidore Cardinal Goma y Thomas, Archbishop of Toledo. Your Eminence:

We, the undersigned English-speaking Catholics, both clergymen and laymen, of Canada, the United States of America, England and Ireland, now present in Madrid, beg respectfully and cordially to present our personal congratulations to you, as Primate of the Catholic Church in Spain; and, through you, to the great body of Spanish Catholics, who under your spiritual leadership have given to the civilized world so marvelous a demonstration of the fortitude, courage and faith of Catholic Spain, now being celebrated in Madrid, and, indeed, everywhere in Spain.

We English-speaking Catholics realize that our respective nations owe a great spiritual and cultural debt to Catholic Spain. European Catholics, of all the nations held together by the fundamental unity of Christian culture, should never forget that during centuries of strife Catholic Spain warded off the invading forces of Mohammedanism, or expelled them where they found temporary lodgment, and finally, at Lepanto, crushed those alien and anti-Christian forces finally, so far as Europe was concerned. But the Catholics of North America remember, with profound gatitude, that it was from Spanish missionaries of the Catholic Church, chiefly and first, that our respective countries received the precious gift of Christian faith. Upon that faith the culture and institutions of our countries still depend, for their liberties, their laws, their order, their art and literature and science, and from the Christian faith our peoples derive the vitalizing principles of their national life itself.

Therefore, though we address Your Eminence as individuals, we believe—indeed, we know with certitude—that many millions of our fellow Catholics of the English-speaking countries—together with a great number of our fellow nationals who are not Catholics but who hold firmly to Christian principles—will associate themselves with us in our congratulations to you and the entire body of Spanish Catholics in this time of great rejoicing when Lepanto has come again, and the new-born Spanish nation celebrates its glorious victory over the evil forces of modern atheism and communism and anarchy and paganism. Those evil forces invaded Spain, after seducing many—but far indeed from the great majority—of the Spanish peoples to join the red armies of the sworn enemies of Christian civilization. We join you in thanking God that the red armies have been so completely defeated in Spain by the heroic armies led with such consummate constancy and skill by that most distinguished and admirable Spanish Catholic soldier, Generalissimo Franco.

As Catholics, and foreigners in Spain, we take no part in and have nothing to say about the political aspects of the situation now faced by your countrymen and their leaders as Spain happily emerges from the terrible calamities inseparable from civil war—although the war was primarily one against foreign invaders. Your country faces now all the grave, complicated problems involving, indeed, all other nations. We simply express our confidence, as Catholics, in the unifying and inspiring influence of the Catholic Christian religion. For centuries that religion inspired and guided the soul of the Spanish peoples. Today in Spain that religion is again strong and free, and in the future—so we firmly believe and pray—it will surely inspire and rightly guide your government and your institutions as the re-born Spanish nation moves forward to assume its rightful high place among the nations.

Of the countless victims of the crimes committed against Spanish Catholics—of the martyrs who by thousands gave their blood willingly for their religion and their nation, we can only say, not in sorrow (though indeed we from a distance share the human sorrow of the relatives and friends of the victims and the martyrs), but in solemn pride, as their fellow Catholics: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Faith." May Saint James and Saint Isidore and Saints Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross and all the great host of Spanish Saints—above all, Our

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Lady of the Pillar, Mary, the Mother of Christ, present our prayers to Almighty God that the people of Spain may now hold and enjoy that peace which the world of materialism, the world that turns away from Christ, can never give. May the Church in Spain, under your guidance, quickly and surely recover from her dreadful losses and sufferings, and be again, as in the past, the light to guide your nation.

Please accept, Your Eminence, this inadequate and hasty yet sincere expression of our sentiments and our assurance that on our return to our own countries we shall do all within our power to obtain the cooperation of our fellow Catholics with the Catholics in Spain in binding up the wounds of the Church in Spain.

Respectfully and cordially,

Most Reverend Alfred Sinnott, Archbishop of Winnipeg, Canada; Dr. Robert Slavin, O.P., Professor of Philosophy, Catholic University of America; Very Reverend Thomas Kilduff, O.D.C., Prior of Monastery Discalced Carmelites, Washington, D. C.; Dr. James Turner, Vice Rector, English College, Valladolid; Reverend Frank A. Wood, Winnipeg, Canada; Aileen O'Brien, Lecturer, San Francisco, California; Michael Williams, Special Editor and Founder of THE COMMONWEAL, *New York; William P. Carney, New York "Times"; Mrs. Helen Moran Neill, Columbia Broadcasting Company; Reverend McArdle, Buffalo, New York; Roy Campbell, Toledo, Spain.*

Editors' Note: Readers need not be reminded that opinions expressed in all signed contributions are those of the authors. This is particularly true of "Views and Reviews," where Mr. Williams freely expresses his personal opinions on problems of the day. To the document presented this week by Mr. Williams THE COMMONWEAL *does not in all respects subscribe.* THE COMMONWEAL *is hopeful that in the difficult days facing Spain the principles of Christian charity will serve to restore the entire population to the conditions of a true Christian peace.*

Communications

CATHOLIC PAPERS AND EUROPEAN POLITICS

La Grange, Ills.

TO the Editors: Judging from your summary (May 26) of the controversy between Hitler and the President, it is clear that Hitler was not treated badly by the majority of the Catholic press. With the exception of J. B. Cooney of the *New World* you found no one to quote who gave the President credit for being an intelligent man bent on peace. One can understand the lecture given the President by *Osservatore Romano,* for it is plain the Holy Father had already made up his mind to follow the American plea for peace with a plan of action entirely different from the plan the President had in mind.

But what one cannot understand is why so large a part of the American Catholic press felt called upon to lecture the President on what they thought was his utter lack of intelligence. Even the usually reasonable *Buffalo Echo* forgot to give the President the benefit of a doubt and suggest that he might know as much about the way of keeping this nation out of war as an editor. As usual though the *Echo* editor was careful enough in writing his comment to leave no doubt in the minds of his readers as to his contempt for nazi methods, a thing some editors, in their contempt for the President's method, forgot to do.

C. V. HIGGINS.

CATHOLICS IN TRADE UNIONS

Scotch Plains, N. J.

TO the Editors: John Cort, in his reply to Father Smith's and my letter *re* "Catholics in Trade Unions," seems to have missed my principal point, and missed the spirit of the rest.

If he will re-read my letter, he will see that my principal point was that the ACTU did not *posit* a better program than the program of the Marxists, and was therefore not giving the worker all it could give.

To all of us who know anything of Catholic social teaching, the word "Catholic" in the title of the ACTU implies a better program, and I've not questioned that. But the worker who doesn't know Catholic teaching can't be expected to get the *implication.*

The same would apply to John Cort's interpretation of "decent working conditions." He and I may not call any working condition "decent" which does not allow the workman full exercise of his *human* nature and rights. But when we use the term in public, are we not limited to the general understanding of its meaning, rather than what we personally would imply from it? . . .

Again, "collective bargaining through union representatives freely chosen" usually means a big stick to show the employer that he's up against a *mass* protest. No organizational technique can bring about recognition of a worker's (singular) essential dignity. It takes, rather, a common outlook on the nature of man to do that. If the employer doesn't have that outlook, even a general strike won't give it to him. In fact, it is more likely to effect the reverse. Hence the Holy Father's injunction to form associations of *both employers* and employees. . . .

If I seemed to ignore "workers' obligations," it was because the obligations listed were so fundamental as to be insulting as a part of a program. Worker or employer, every man has the obligation to keep his word and act in a manner befitting his human endowments. If anyone doubts this, let him look upon the program of personal action (negative, for the most part) given to Moses, and known to us as the Ten Commandments. And for the more positive side of the commandments, let him see how Our Lord, Jesus Christ, condensed the whole Law and Prophets into two positive commandments.

We agrarians don't ask that John Cort, or other members of the industrial workers' apostolate, desert that field to join us. There is a real need for both movements. The present order, and the present system, took many years to build, bad as it is, and it can't be changed for the better overnight. In the meantime some will have to work in each camp. But I maintain that no matter what concessions we have to make to immediate conditions and neces-

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sities, each movement has the same end, and must keep it always in view. The philosophy of labor of the land and crafts must be applied insofar as possible in the industrial world. And if it is a question of doing away with either the industrial system, or with the philosophy of labor which allows man his human dignity, then the industrial system, and not the philosophy of labor, must be sacrificed. Man and his human and divine nature come first. For Catholics there can be no hesitation when such a conflict occurs.

That John Cort agrees with this is obvious from the implications in his letter, but the point I made in my first letter still stands.

Set it down positively!

Some time back the *Labor Leader,* organ of the ACTU, reviewed a pamphlet written by Adé de Béthune on "Work." My recollection of that review is that the ACTU couldn't accept *in toto* the "philosophy of labor" contained in it, ideal as they felt it to be. As much more space would be needed to set down that philosophy of labor than the "Communications" columns afford, I shall have to refer any interested readers to the above-mentioned pamphlet.

One final point for John Cort: don't put too much faith in the application of "democracy" to industrialism. Even a 99.99 percent "pro" vote doesn't make a thing good or ethical (witness German government); and majorities aren't any more likely to do what is right and just than are minorities in situations where standards and values have been degraded (or lost entirely). Ethical values and common sense will have to be reestablished before *any* government of industry (including self-government by the workers) can effect a worth-while change for the **better.**

Which is what Peter Maurin pointed out long before the ACTU was born of the Catholic Worker movement. What labor needs most is a philosophy of labor. When it has that, it will be an organism, and can dispense with "organization" drives and "duty to join a bona fide union." It will have the unity of a common attitude toward problems which it now faces, and which may yet arise, and a common philosophy to apply to the solution of the problems. Out of such unity will come real *union,* and real union will eliminate such obvious evils as union leaders battling for supremacy, delegates selling out the men they supposedly represent, the barring of negroes from union membership, etc., etc.

Again I extend my best wishes to John Cort and any of the others who are tackling the job of bringing about such real unity, and point out that my criticism, however incomplete or distasteful, was and is offered in the same spirit of good will.

THOMAS BARRY.

RADIO REPORTER IN JERUSALEM

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: Had Elisabeth Ann Murphy, who reviewed "Radio Reporter in Jerusalem" in your issue of June 9, known that this was a translation of "Le Dieu Vivant" which has been presented (slightly adapted) over a nationwide American radio network for the past two years under the title, "The Living God" (and doubtless will be again), I venture to hope she would have called that fact to the attention of your readers. For anyone who liked the script (the book is itself a radio script) as well as she evidently did, would have been glad to let others know that they would very likely have an opportunity of hearing it, in the medium for which it was written, next Holy Week.

"The Living God" differs from the original "Le Dieu Vivant" principally in that it has been adapted for five fifteen-minute programs rather than four full-hour programs; the length of the original script making it almost impossible of complete presentation over a nationwide network. But everyone who has heard it has acknowledged that it did not suffer from compression. It was put on during Holy Week of 1938 and 1939 by professional Hollywood casts including Pedro de Cordoba, Walter Connolly, William Gargan, Una O'Connor and Mary Carr, under the sponsorship of the National Council of Catholic Men, acting in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company. And it will doubtless be put on again next year provided only the listening public evinces sufficient interest. Readers of the book, taking note of this fact, might want to register an expression of their wishes with the sponsor.

EDWARD J. HEFFRON,
Executive Secretary, National Council of Catholic Men.

THE LITURGY IN ENGLISH

Upton, Mass.

TO the Editors: Congratulations on your printing John C. Cort's letter on the Liturgy in English (June 9)!

The unction, the light, the guidance and more too, I'm sure, which is found in the Liturgy by all means should not be kept from the layman because of a lack of the knowledge of Latin.

However, I ask, "Should the Mass not rather be brought to the worker and all of the laity through a spread of the missal and through the charity of those already so fortunate as to have the knowledge of the value of the missal?"

It was thus through the zeal of a layman that a missal came into my hands and through the instruction of the same that I came to use it.

With the English beside the Latin, one may come to learn the Latin, which is of no small value to the least of men.

I'm for a *Missa Recitata* every Sunday in every parish.

Furthermore, I'm for a movement aimed at a full liturgical life for all.

Through reasonably priced books and parish schools for all; through the practice of the works of mercy, I see no reason why a reconstruction of the social order could not come about.

HAZEN L. ORDWAY.

P. S. Further congratulations for your article in the same issue, "Farming by Guess."

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Points & Lines

English Catholics View Russian Alliance

WHILE in this relatively remote country the Catholic press treats somewhat academically the problem of a Russian alliance, our English fellows are confronted with an immediate, practical situation. The June *Blackfriars* gives a short review:

> One [British] Catholic weekly has run a vigorous campaign against the alliance, eliciting *"non serviam"* declarations from readers. A second has very rightly drawn attention to the impropriety of making premature and categorical statements in the press which "could tend to create a false conscience and impede the later action of ecclesiastical authority." But the fun has been in the correspondence columns of a third. [By no means only in the third, we might add.] . . .
>
> "A nation that is fighting for its existence," we are told, "must seek help where it can, irrespective of religious, political or ideological sympathies." It is irrelevant to ask where this estimable principle is to be found (we remember what was said to Spanish Republicans who said much the same thing), for it entirely misses the point. Whether Russia may help us is more Russia's affair than ours; *our* problem is whether *we may help Russia,* and that problem is not solved by solving the problem as to whether we may accept Russia's help. But this is not the only argument we are offered: "No Catholic who defended Franco's alliance with Hitler can logically refuse help to his country if his country is allied with Russia." One trembles to think what General Franco will make of that. But he might quite plausibly argue that Hitler is not Russia, and that accepting the services of German troops in a Spanish war is not an alliance with Hitler, nor yet to advance Nazism. The odd thing is that British Catholics are being urged to do, not what the Nationalist Catholics were defended for doing, but precisely what the Basque Catholics were condemned for doing—and not only by zealous English Catholic lay writers, but by nearly the whole Spanish hierarchy. An alliance implies *mutual* help and collaboration. . . .
>
> It is well known (though more so in France, where it has long been a live practical problem) that the extent of the "collaboration with Communism" solemnly prohibited by Pius XI is not yet very clearly defined; but at least it is not easy to see how military alliance with the Soviet can be excluded from it. But this is a matter of the interpretation of positive precept which no individual can decide categorically on his own authority.

The London *Tablet* has gone into the affair at length, and apparently its editorial conclusions were given May 20:

> When the British Government judged it necessary to strengthen the hands of the Poles by giving them a claim to British help, a system of Eastern commitments was embarked upon which inevitably involved approaches to the Soviet. In principle, such approaches and any resultant bargain are to be judged in the light of the special circumstances. . . .
>
> There can be no question of an alliance like our alliance with the French, because alliances must rest on common interests. But British Empire and the Soviet have, indeed, one common interest, to provide a counterpoise to any rapid and violent German expansion at the expense of Germany's immediate neighbors. But that is a regional interest to be met by regional pacts. . . .
>
> Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax have to find the exact point to which they can go in order to secure Soviet cooperation in war time, on behalf of Poland and Rumania and the lesser Baltic States, without prejudicing British relations with countries much nearer and of extreme importance. . . . We have left it to Poles to be the judges of the point at which they must fight to safeguard their independence. . . . It surely follows that it is for them to determine what help, if any, they are prepared to seek from Soviet Russia. . . .

The line of the *Catholic Herald* is somewhat similar:

> The *Catholic Herald* has not been among those who have attacked the Government's effort to conclude an *ad hoc* arrangement with Russia for the purpose of implementing the guarantees to Poland and Rumania. . . .
>
> Russian aid for this purpose is in a totally different category from any kind of military alliance, binding us to help Russia under unknown circumstances for a number of years. . . . such an alliance is tantamount to a proclamation that we do not intend to face the outstanding European questions on the basis of justice. . . .
>
> The *Catholic Herald* will not cease to denounce and oppose any pact or alliance with Russia which does not fall within the narrow framework of a balancing of forces under present circumstances so that international justice may be achieved.

The *Weekly Review* believes "the unanimity with which our press in this country is clamoring for a Bolshevik alliance is alarming." The editors believe that the English people are not really afraid and that they don't really want communism, but that they don't know "that under its present régime [Russia] is powerless to help but more than ready to stir up war."

After considering the Russian understanding, Bernard Wall writes in the *Colosseum:*

> The great difficulty about our present situation is that with the enlistment of moralists, philosophers, clergymen and prophets, all wars take on the peculiar and fanatical horrors of *religious* wars. The Germans are no longer subjects of another king against whom our king fights: they are *odium generis humani,* what the Moslems were to Peter the Hermit. (And the same view is taken on the other side.) And in this sense the moralists who talk about just wars may do more harm than good; because they bring in (and on each side equally) the whole machinery of excommunication by bell, book and candle against the opposite side.

The English *Catholic Worker* takes a questioning and pacifist position:

> If there is another war will we have a better peace? Or shall we merely make preparations for another war?
>
> We know that Germany is an aggressor nation, apparently bent on provoking war.
>
> Can we presume that Russia is sincere in wanting to defend small nations?
>
> Can we presume England is sincere?
>
> If we are to fight a just war, our side must be completely right. Is it?
>
> If we are to fight a just war, our method of waging that war must be completely just. Will it?
>
> Are we sure that we shall not spread campaigns of lying propaganda? That we shall not deliberately kill women and children . . .?
>
> Are we sure that our cause is worth fighting for?
>
> Are we sure that justice will triumph? That the new Europe will be based on justice and charity, and that greed and envy will be banished?
>
> If we are, then let us fight knowing that God will be on our side.
>
> If we are not sure—

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The Stage & Screen

The Season's Plays

IT WOULD BE IDLE to assert that the season just ending has touched any high-water mark in America's theatrical annals. There have been a number of interesting plays, but they have all been by established dramatists. The new playwright has not been in evidence, and the American dramatic renaissance so confidently predicted a decade ago has faded further and further into the mists. And this dearth of new talent has not been confined to America; no vital European dramatist has shown himself for the first time. Yet the season has had its encouraging features. In the first place it has seen Philip Barry return to his place as a dramatist. Mr. Barry's "Here Come the Clowns" is the most imaginative play he has written, and despite its structural lapses probably the most interesting play of the year. It deserved a better fate than it received from its slender audiences. Mr. Barry's other play, "Philadelphia Story," a far inferior work, though amusing in spots, proved an enormous success, owing to the appearance in it of Miss Katherine Hepburn. Robert E. Sherwood produced another of his successes in "Abraham Lincoln in Illinois," an interesting if uninspired chronicle play, magnificently acted by Raymond Massey and his associates. Lillian Hellman in "The Little Foxes" has given us another tense and well written drama and Clifford Odets showed that he has recovered himself by writing "Rocket to the Moon," his best play next to "Awake and Sing." S. N. Behrman's "No Time for Comedy" was also successful, largely through its performance and Katherine Cornell, but it is not Mr. Behrman at his best.

There was only one new play from the other side of the Atlantic which showed any outstanding quality—Paul Vincent Carroll's "The White Steed." It proved that Mr. Carroll's success the season before with "Shadow and Substance" is no flash in the pan. Mr. Carroll has more genius in his writing than any dramatist has shown for the past decade. He has a splendid sense of character, a rich vein of comedy and informing it all a brooding mind which knows that life in this world is not a thing of beer and skittles. And how Mr. Carroll can write! With him the English language partakes again of the richness which it possessed in Elizabethan times. The Irish are getting their revenge! Of the revivals we had Maurice Evans's "Henry IV" and "Hamlet," both worthy and at times interesting essays.

This is scarcely a rich harvest in the theatre, at least on the creative side. What are the reasons? Is it the movies or radio or the depression? I am certain it is not the latter, except in so far as it has cut down the number of productions; and the real dramatist will write for the theatre despite movies and radio. I myself feel that it is primarily because of two factors—the continuance of the realistic tradition in writing for the stage and, perhaps as a corollary, the neglect by the playwright of the actor. Realism was a good thing in its abolition of the old, outworn emotional stencils, but it has restricted the drama and stultified the dramatist's imagination. It has poohpoohed the spiritual and denied the noble; it is time that it be put in its secondary place. And not until the actor has parts which give full scope to his powers can the stage return to its position as an art. GRENVILLE VERNON.

"We look before and after . . ."

CINEMA ADDICTS living in or visiting New York this summer can see old films to their heart's content by taking advantage of the screenings at the Museum of Modern Art. Every afternoon until October first this museum is showing choice selections from its fine film library. Believing that the motion picture is the outstanding art peculiar to this century and certainly much more than just a medium of entertainment, the Museum of Modern Art started its film library in 1935; and under the library's director, John E. Abbott, and its curator, Iris Barry, there have been collected hundreds of important films of all kinds from the United States and Europe. This unique collection is now open to the public for the first time in a cycle of seventy films. Students of the cinema as well as film fans will find much to interest them and get many surprises as they study the growth of the motion picture and revaluate for themselves the work of such directors as Méliès, Griffith, Wiene, Ingram, Sennett, Seastrom, Stiller, Pabst, Murnau, von Stroheim, Vidor, Clair, Flaherty, LeRoy, von Sternberg, Lubitsch; or as they reconsider the acting of the Gish sisters, Theda Bara, Rudolph Valentino, William S. Hart, Emil Jannings, Greta Garbo, Harold Lloyd, Douglas Fairbanks, Janet Gaynor, Al Jolson, Maurice Chevalier, Edward G. Robinson, Paul Muni; or as they review such historic and representative films as "The Great Train Robbery," "The Birth of a Nation," "Broken Blossoms," "Greed," "The Big Parade," "The Last Laugh," "The Covered Wagon," "Little Caesar," "Anna Christie."

It isn't likely that any of this week's new films will find their way into the museum's library. Lupe Velez and Leon Errol offer an hour's fun in "The Girl from Mexico," a movie that would be nothing at all without those two substantial troupers. Errol does his old clowning well, while the Velez uses her husky voice, her hips and fiery playfulness to best advantage. . . . In spite of appealing performances by Stuart Erwin and Gloria Stuart, "It Could Happen to You" muffs a good chance to bring to life an old but engaging story about a milktoasty underdog who rises to the top. The new Tarzan ("Tarzan finds a Son") picture goes on from where the last one left off and is pretty much like the rest with the addition of young John Sheffield who now gives that wonderful call and swings from tree to tree with Johnny Weissmuller and Maureen O'Sullivan. . . . "Wolf Call," vaguely based on Jack London's story, is even more naive than the Tarzan item and not so much fun. It's all about John Carroll, a millionaire playboy, who learns how to be a he-man while saving a radium mine for the good of humanity and his father's fortune. Peter George Lynn comes through with a fine performance as the two-fisted priest who assists Movita, the Canadian wildwoods and a dog in re-creating playful Mr. Carroll. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books of the Day

John and Jessie Frémont

Frémont, by Allan Nevins. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $5.00.

THIS BOOK is a revision of Mr. Nevins's earlier work on Frémont. By revision is meant that he has brought to it not merely new and careful research, but has added the ripe fruits of his experience, his highly critical analysis and his maturity. These things, then, make it new and important.

For by now it goes without saying that Mr. Nevins is our outstanding biographer. Biographers we have aplenty. But what gives special distinction to the work of Mr. Nevins is that he is primarily an historian. That means that about this book—and all his others—clings a quality of objectivity not always found in biographies. Mr. Nevins has too much knowledge and too much wisdom to engage in debunking. He is not a fool and is, therefore, not led away by that amiable idiocy that to understand all is to forgive all. But he does not easily write harshly of anyone.

John C. Frémont was an unusually romantic figure. Even yet there clings to him a quality of romance not altogether deserved. Mr. Nevins is careful to call him "pathmarker" and not "pathfinder." For Frémont's contribution to America is not that he discovered western paths—for that had been done already by the "mountain spies," Bridger and Karson and the rest—but that he brought to his work scientific knowledge and equipment. Even here, though, some of the romance is lost. Mr. Nevins does not fail to remind us to "banish from our minds the legend of a brilliant Lochinvar, a dazzling knight-errant of adventure."

Frémont did not discover the Oregon trail but scientifically marked it, examined South Pass, discovered longitudes and latitudes and helped make safe the movement of that "human stream so rapidly remaking America." And he gave the first blow to the illusion that there *was* a great American desert—that the great plains were arid and not fertile. He played, too, an ambiguous and not altogether honorable part in the famous Bear Flag Revolt that brought him both fame and disgrace. Of this phase Mr. Nevins has written brilliantly and carefully. He seems somewhat predisposed to Frémont; his friendliness is clear in the discussion of the well-known Frémont-Blair quarrel, which involved even Lincoln. But he is never blind to Frémont's faults nor to his erratic character.

Frémont was California's first United States Senator and the first candidate for the Presidency on the Republican ticket. For he could write well, and his scientific reports were not only important but popular. Mr. Nevins destroys the myth that Frémont's wife Jessie did his writing. Yet not the least of Mr. Nevins's portraits is that of Jessie Benton Frémont—vivacious, decisive, mature, poised, well-read, loyal and animated; she lives here as a wife and as a woman in the category of the unattainable. Mr. Nevins has not had a newspaper career for nothing.

It is Mr. Nevins's opinion, however, that we were fortunate that Frémont did not go to the White House. For his character seemed spotted: "the clouds of illegitimacy, poverty and total uncertainty of the future" hung darkling above his cradle. He was gay, undisciplined, jealous, stubborn, brilliant but erratic, utterly, it would seem, without those qualities of leadership, shrewdness

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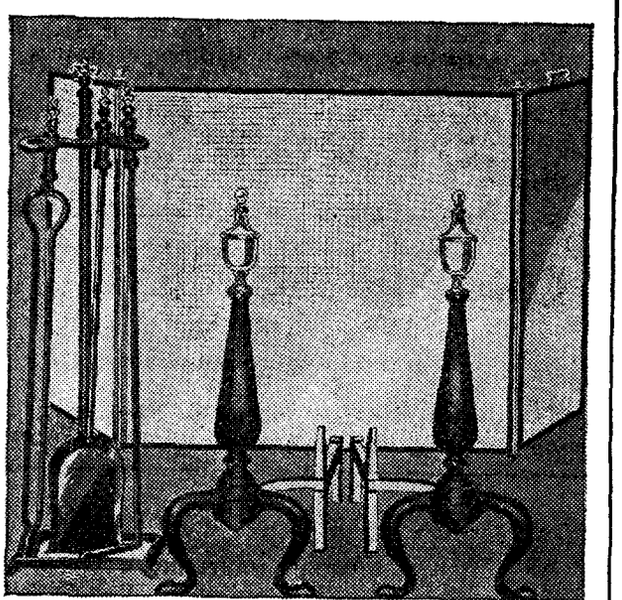

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and patience that saved Mr. Lincoln and ourselves. But Frémont served in the Civil War—if not well, at least generously. He did not deserve the end he knew, for it is true, as Jessie wrote, that "from the ashes of his campfires have sprung cities." He got a brilliant biographer. And if it is true as Mr. Nevins writes that Frémont and his wife have given our record some pages "over which, with their beguiling sparkle and radiance, succeeding generations will delight to hang," a great part of the credit must go to Mr. Nevins.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

A MISCELLANY

Strikes, a Study in Quantitative Economics, by John I. Griffin. New York: Columbia University Press. $4.00.

WHATEVER you may think of "specific statistics," this is the most complete collection of them yet produced on the subject of American strikes, their causes, results and relation to business cycles, unions, etc.

Mr. Griffin's conclusions are, briefly, that strikes increase and decrease with prices and a sympathetic or hostile political administration; and that, excepting printing and railroads, the highly unionized industries have not cut down the number of strikes to any notable extent.

Since the author produces only industry-wide figures to support this last contention, it is not very convincing. The record of each individual establishment is the only final criterion in determining the stabilizing effect of established collective bargaining, and that record generally runs counter to such a conclusion. However, the stupid, arbitrary and occasionally dishonest attitude of some employers and some labor leaders (notably in the building trades) has often prolonged strife in spite of a long tradition of bargaining.

An interesting fact that throws a dark shadow on American employers is the item that in 1937 (the CIO's big year) 70 percent of all strikes were called for the elementary objective of union recognition.

JOHN C. CORT.

Wheat and Soldiers, by Corporal Ashihei Hino. Translated by Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $2.00.

IF ANYTHING, war is more mechanized, more impersonal, more terrible for the individual soldier today than it was in 1914. Offensively it consists of carrying out movements against an invisible foe; defensively it means constant apprehension of death at any moment. The only glory lies in the giving of oneself to this ruthless vortex for the fatherland. All this and a lot more is reflected in the remarkable letters and diary entries that go to make up this little book. Ashihei Hino, or whatever his real name is, is a competent literary artist. His reactions are a stirring amalgam of human emotions: love of beauty, patriotism, despiritualization, nostalgia and occasional pity. It is non-political but it presents a plausible picture of the feelings of a Japanese man in the ranks. Reading it is a curious experience.

E. S. S.

The Bonapartes in America, by Clarence Edward Macartney and Gordon Lorrance. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company. $3.00.

THIS is the first published work to contain in one volume all available material on every member of the Bonaparte family who either lived in the United States or was in some way connected with this country. It con-

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tains summary chapters on Jerome Bonaparte and Elizabeth Patterson; Charles J. Bonaparte of Baltimore, Joseph Bonaparte at Philadelphia, Bordentown and Lake Bonaparte; the Murats of Florida; Napoleon III in New York City; and the Napoleonic exiles in Alabama and Texas. The authors pass no verdict on the tradition that Ney escaped execution and lived for many years in North Carolina. The concluding chapter presents new evidence concerning American plots to rescue Napoleon from St. Helena. J. J. O'C.

Each to the Other, by Christopher La Farge. New York: Coward-McCann. $2.75.

CHRISTOPHER, of the talented La Farge family, follows "Hoxsie Sells His Acres" with a second excursion into the difficult medium of the verse novel. "Each to the Other" covers 75 episodes, ranging from commonplace to melodrama, of adolescence and marriage. The verse is sometimes pedestrian, often compelling, always readable. D. B.

Navy Men, by James B. Connolly. New York: John Day Company. $3.50.

"NAVY MEN," by James B. Connolly, is a rather loosely constructed series of naval incidents largely based on fact and in many cases gives the names of the officers and men participating. It covers in a general way the period from the Spanish War through 1918 and includes some references to the Navy of today. It is written in a breezy, informal style with little regard to literary merit.

Animal Carvings, by M. D. Anderson. Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

THE waning interest in art-archeology among artists is explainable on the basis of its lack of integration with immediate life. While an appreciation and sense of great art of all periods is the equipment of any artist, to fail to understand the difference in quality in the pervading mentality of the twentieth and the thirteenth centuries is fatal to artistic creativeness. Fortunately the pressure of existing life has finally removed the necessity of any self-conscious differentiation between the present and the past in art creation. For better or for worse we face the facts of contemporary existence and must strive for an art which through relationship with the times will be graphically understandable to our generation. The sentimental props of medieval and other traditional art have been thrust back into the past and we are now learning to stand without them.

This book of medieval animal carvings, while archeological in intent, further emphasizes this difference between the thirteenth and twentieth centuries. The interest in its literary content is, therefore, academic and relates to a period in which temperamental playfulness found immediate and virile expression in sculptural design. The background of this playfulness lay in the momentary, highly imaginative concept of natural history; the design and sculptural quality of these carvings, however, is timeless and displays those evidences of design-clarity and strength-in-grace such as reappear with startling uniformity in all great periods of art. The illustrations of medieval carvings are well selected and have a stimulating value as well as a marked appeal to the aesthetic sense. B. B.

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The Inner Forum

THE RECENT CONGRESS of the Jeunesse Agricole Chrétienne in Paris signalized its first ten years of constructive achievement. The attendance of 25,000 delegates from all parts of France and from Belgium, Canada and Switzerland indicates the proportions of the movement today. There are 1,700 local sections already affiliated with the movement and over 3,000 more in process of formation. In fact the movement is growing so fast that the Paris headquarters has to move to larger offices about once a year.

The French J.A.C., whose members range from 15 to 25 years of age, has been engaged in an extensive factual survey of agricultural conditions throughout the land for the past year. The picture presented at the congress is one of tragic decline. Depopulation due to the low birth-rate and the abandonment of farms would be even more acute were it not for the Poles who are working the land in the North and West, the Italians and Spaniards throughout the South of France. In Brittany and la Vendée the exodus of young people is explicable because these provinces are well-populated, but in many other regions there are no similar conditions to explain the flight to the city. Since 1936 this unhappy tendency has accelerated in every area.

La Vie Intellectuelle publishes a report to the effect that the social laws have aggravated rural discontent among young people by making the lot of the factory worker appear more attractive. Some 97 percent of French farms are cultivated by the families that own them; cash income is not even comparable with urban wages. The J.A.C. is working for two new social laws: the first would provide marriage loans for young rural couples; the second would give certain material rights to the son who devotes his youth to his father's farm.

The primary work of the J.A.C. is non-political. It is the re-Christianization of French rural life. Through education it seeks to substitute Christian solidarity for peasant individualism, to further professional organization not only for self-betterment but also out of charity toward one's neighbor. Jean Gravier thus summarizes one of the main objectives: "We must reestablish a proper conception of work: it is not slavery and our body is not a machine. Our work, on the contrary, is something noble: it must provide our families with a worthy subsistence and the full development of our dignity, it makes the peasant the brother of all the human beings he nourishes; above all it has divine worth; united to Christ it increases the treasure of the Redemption and it saves the world."

CONTRIBUTORS

E. L. MUNZER is a financial and monetary expert and economic adviser to industrial corporations.

Mary PERKINS is the author of a recent book, "At Your Ease in the Catholic Church."

Albert LYND, a member of the history faculty of Stanford University and of the Dominican College of San Rafael, California, is at present doing research work in Belgium.

Francis DOWNING is a member of the history department, Fordham University.

John C. CORT is one of the founders of the ACTU.

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